

# The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother \*\*\* therefore, is this distress come upon us.

[EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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Slave-Holder's Department.

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR LUMPKIN'S MESSAGE.

These general remarks have been made with a view to the existing state of things between the slave and non-slaveholding States; a delicate subject, which nothing but an impious sense of duty could induce me to introduce to public consideration, in a paper of this character. The constitutional rights, of the southern States, in regard to slave property, is not, and cannot be controverted; and I feel disposed to cherish an abiding confidence in the virtue and patriotism of our northern brethren—and will not indulge the belief, that the great body of that people, can, for a moment, countenance and encourage the desperate efforts of those violent incendiaries who are laboring to stir up insurrection and rebellion in the southern States. Should, however, the abolitionists be permitted to proceed without molestation—or only have to encounter the weapons of reason and argument, have we not reason to fear, that their untiring efforts may succeed in misleading the majority of a people, having no direct interest in the great question at issue, and finally produce an interference with the constitutional rights of the slaveholder? The consequences of such an event cannot be contemplated, by the patriot, without the most painful emotions. The success of these misguided men would be destructive of all that is desirable in the glorious experimental government under which we are enjoying an unparalleled degree of happiness and prosperity. No adequate conception can be formed of the blessings which they are laboring to destroy, while they claim to be the exclusive friends of liberty and freedom. The principles of the Christian religion can never be brought to the aid of these monsters, whose proceedings are marked by the most reckless, blood-thirsty spirit that ever disgraced the American name. Upon this subject, we can hear no argument. Our opinions are unalterably fixed—our determinations are immutably firm and steadfast, and therefore ought not to be concealed or misunderstood. It is a subject with which we cannot suffer a stranger to intermeddle. But the question arises, What is to be done in the present exigency? It is the imperious duty of the people and governments of the several States, where these incendiaries are engaged in their diabolical plans and operations, to put them down, at once, and forever. It is not my province, or duty, to point out the manner in which public opinion should be brought to bear on this subject; whether by legislation or otherwise, must be left to the wisdom of the people of those States who are in duty bound to act, and to act promptly and efficiently upon this subject. If the States in which these enemies of our peace reside, do not, without delay, manifest their friendship and fidelity to the Constitution and the Union of the States, by effectually silencing these incendiaries, we can no longer be called upon, in charity, to place any confidence in their professions so often promulgated to the world. It is, with us, a subject of deep and solemn import—involved in the destiny of our dearest domestic affections—our sacred altars—all.

I would earnestly recommend to the consideration of the legislature, the revision of our existing laws, so as more effectually to prevent the circulation, through the post-office or otherwise, of any publications tending to endanger our domestic relations, or calling in question our constitutional rights of property. Congress should also be invoked, in the most earnest and respectful language, not to suffer the post-office establishment to be used to our injury and destruction. I would also recommend that the States, where these agitators and incendiaries are found, should be called upon in the true spirit of our institutions, that is, in a spirit of manly independence and brotherly affection, to sustain, in good faith, the letter and spirit of our glorious Constitution.

## THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH DESIRE TO BE RID OF SLAVERY.

Such is the opinion which has been industriously and mischievously propagated at the north. Under this delusion, the friends of humanity have folded their hands, closed their lips, and left their outraged brother to the tender mercies of his oppressor. "Let us be still," it has been said, "and cultivate, by a kind and soothng intercourse, the confidence and good will of the master—doubtless he will as soon as is consistent with the safety of all parties, do the thing that is right." We have been told, too, that the masters would gladly free their slaves, if they could only be taken out of the country.

Generation after generation has descended to the grave, and all the while this grand experiment of keeping still has been going on; and what is the result? The chains are heavier; the hammer moves more briskly; ignorance is more profound and brutal; and slavery is regarded as the settled constitutional policy of the country—venerable for its age—unchangeable—eternal! Are slaveholders softened? Are they more regardful of our wishes, and our common honor? No! They meet the first lisp of advice and entreaty as an unwarrantable interference; they storm and rave, and disgrace our republic with language fit only for the worst days of Caligula and Domitian. Have they taken one step by way of "preparation for freedom"—one step in sixty years? No; they unblushingly proclaim that SLAVERY SHALL BE FOREVER!!!

Even should this revelation have no effect in bringing on the day of universal emancipation, it is well for us to know it. It is well for us to see what slavery is, and to what it leads—it is well to discover the bottomless quagmire into which we might one day have fallen. Slave masters are showing themselves up to the universe, as the shameless and avowed plunderers of human rights. This is well. Thousands will be horror-struck, and stand off from the gulph into which they might otherwise have plunged.

Among the late exhibitions of the infatuated spirit of American slavery, none is more undisguised than the speech of "EDMUND BELLINGER, JR., at a public meeting in Barnwell District, South Carolina." We think no man, with a spark of conscience left, can read it, without vowed to God eternal warfare with American slavery. Did the state of our

columns admit, we would publish it undivided. It will make abolitionists wherever it goes; indeed, the author seems to have suspected as much, for he assures his friends that he designs it to circulate only among those who are "southern in sentiment." We shall commence copying it with few and short comments:—

### A SPEECH,

On the subject of Slavery, delivered 7th September, 1835, at a public meeting of the citizens of Barnwell District, South Carolina. By EDMUND BELLINGER, JR.

"Enforced by Necessity—Sanctioned by Religion—and Justified by Law."

Published by request.

To the inhabitants of Barnwell District:—

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—The following speech, (written off and published at the request of my friends,) is very respectfully dedicated to you, before whom it was (in substance) delivered. Although published, I have used proper precautions to prevent its being circulated among any but those who are southern in sentiment, and southern in conduct.—*To none other is it addressed.* I beg you to be assured, that in presenting to you my remarks, I am influenced not by feelings of vanity, but by an earnest wish to benefit if I can, the citizens of a district, from whom I have experienced in my professional pursuits, the most kind regard and the most cheering encouragement. I beg you to be further assured, that however we may have differed as to other matters, *on this subject there is, and, I trust, can be between us no difference of feeling or principle.* Whatever may be the course of future events, in the cause of southern institutions you will find me with you, "shoulder to shoulder," sharing a common interest, and ready to encounter a common danger.

I remain, respectfully, &c.,

EDMUND BELLINGER, JR.  
Barnwell Court House, Sept., 1835.

### PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

The following preamble and resolutions, unanimously adopted at the public meeting alluded to, were drawn up by E. Bellinger, Jr., and approved by the committee of twenty-one:—

The committee of twenty-one, to whom this meeting has referred the subject of *incendiary publications*, respectfully present the following report:—

Your committee deem it a'like unnecessary, undignified and improper, to enter into discussions in defense of our rights and interests, as connected with the domestic policy and peculiar institutions (1) of the south. It is enough and more than enough, that neither that domestic policy, nor those peculiar institutions violate any rule of morality—any principle of justice, or any precept of Christianity. (1)

It is enough and more than enough, that those rights and interests were guaranteed and secured in the most express, and solemn, and binding form, by the constitution of our common country.

It is enough and more than enough, that the attitude which we maintain, has been forced upon us, not only by every principle of self-preservation, but by a stern, fixed, and *unalterable necessity*.

It is enough and more than enough, that we understand our rights—that *if strong hands and high hearts, and a just cause can avail*, those rights shall be *preserved*.

While, however, your committee decline entering into argument on the present occasion, they would suggest the propriety of our adopting such measures as will ensure the preservation of property and good order.

And after the most earnest and anxious consideration of the subject committed to their care, they present for your approval the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That any attempt to interfere with our domestic policy, whether by the Federal Government, or by the constituted authorities of the people of other States, would be and is, alike unconstitutional, unjust and iniquitous, and we proclaim our stern and fixed determination promptly to repel such interference at any and every hazard.

2. Resolved, That we view with abhorrence and detestation, the attempt to deluge our State with incendiary publications; and that we consider the authors of such attempts no more entitled to the protection of the laws, than the *ferocious monster or venomous reptile*.

3. Resolved, That the detestable conduct of such miscreants as Arthur Tappan and his *vennious crew*, cannot be countenanced or tolerated without incurring guilt *second only to their own*; and we trust that the constituted authorities of those States, in which they carry on their nefarious and diabolical proceedings, will set to it, that *justice, humanity and religion*, are no longer outraged.

4. Be it further Resolved, That if those States do not adopt prompt and effectual measures for preventing their citizens from printing and publishing books and papers, and from holding meetings and delivering addresses, calculated to disturb the peace and subvert the institutions of their Sister States, then it will be the duty of the south, without delay, to refer the cause of southern rights to the united wisdom and united power of the southern States.

5. Resolved, That the bringing or circulating within these States of any written or printed papers; and also the holding of any conversation with an intent to disturb the *peace of the same, in relation to our colored population*, ought to be declared felony, and punished by death, without benefit of clergy.

6. Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress, so soon as practicable, to adopt suitable measures for preventing the United States mail from being converted to the purposes of *incendiaries and assassins*.

7. Resolved, That it is the imperative and indispensable duty of each and every post-master in the district, to exercise the utmost vigilance and promptness in seizing upon the incendiary publications sent to his office, and in delivering them up to the proper authorities to be *burnt by the common Hangman*.

8. Resolved, That the proper authorities should bear continually in mind the absolute necessity of

### NOTES.

(1) "Domestic policy." "Peculiar institutions." These are *cuthemisms*, or soft names for hard things. In plain English, they mean buying and selling human beings at auction; forcing them to work by the whip, withholding from them the word of God; separating families; refusing the protection of law, &c., &c. The reader will please to substitute the plain English throughout the speech for the cuthemisms.

enforcing (promptly and rigidly,) all laws in relation to militia and patrol duty—in relation to unlawful assemblies, and other subjects well understood.

9. Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting do appoint a committee of thirteen individuals residing near the centre of the district, to whom shall be added as sub-committees, the militia officers residing in each company-beat. That the duty of these committees shall be, 1. To confer with the post-master within their respective limits. 2. To seize upon and have burnt all incendiary publications. 3. To see that the necessary and proper laws are duly enforced. 4. To keep an eye upon all suspicious characters. 5. To be vigilant, prompt and energetic, in bringing offenders to condign punishment. 6. And in general, to take care of the rights and interests of the district *against incendiaries*.

10. Resolved, That the Chairman of this meeting do instruct in the name and in behalf of the citizens of the district, to offer a reward of \$1,000 for the detection and delivery to the committee of thirteen, or to the sheriff of the district, of *any individual guilty of interfering with our peculiar rights*.

11. Resolved, That the Chairman of this meeting do instruct in the name and in behalf of the citizens of the district, to offer a reward of \$1,000 for the detection and delivery to the committee of thirteen, or to the sheriff of the district, of *any individual guilty of interfering with our peculiar rights*.

12. Resolved, That all ministers of the gospel with their churches, be earnestly requested to *co-operate* with us in our designs; and in particular to *allow no improper privilege*.

13. Resolved, That while all unnecessary excitement should be avoided, it is the duty of each individual to exercise his utmost vigilance and caution, and to be at all times, *thoroughly prepared for the common danger*.

14. Resolved, Where the laws of the land are insufficient to meet the emergency, the laws of natural justice and self-preservation shall supply the deficiency—we are *deliberately and advisedly determined* that the *guilty shall not escape*.

15. Resolved, That we fully and cordially concur with our fellow-citizens of Charleston, in the resolutions adopted at their meeting of the 10th ult., and that like them "we are united as one man in the fixed and unalterable determination to maintain our rights and defend our property against all attacks"—"be the consequences what they may."

16. Resolved, That collectively and individually we do solemnly pledge ourselves to *support our common rights and common interests, whether against Fanatics abroad, or Traitors at home*.

The following resolutions were also offered by S. W. Trott, Esq. and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting and of the south are due to the independent and patriotic citizens of Philadelphia, who alone among the slaveholders, have truly met this crisis, by recommending the suppression of incendiary movements within their own borders by *legislative action, the only certain method of insuring safety to the south without a dissolution of the Union*.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Aiken Telegraph and Charleston papers.

In pursuance of the 9th resolution, the chair appointed Joseph Howell, Jesse Rice, Joseph G. W. Duncan, A. B. O'Bannon, Jas. E. Robinson, Wm. J. Harley, Joseph D. Allen, Lewis O'Bannon, Barbara H. Brown, Michael D. Maher, Ferdinand Burton, James Patterson, and Edmund Bellinger, as the Central Vigilant Committee of the district.

GEORGE W. COLLINS, Chairman.  
WILSON SANDERS, Secretary.

### SPEECH II.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of this meeting:—We are all citizens of South Carolina! We are born and we live, not for ourselves alone, but for our country! And when that country is endangered, it is the duty—the imperative duty of each individual, however humble or obscure, to come forward in defense of her rights and interests, openly without reserve, and promptly without delay!

If this were a common occasion—if we were to deal in abstract discussion, resulting in no practical good—if this day's proceedings were intended to make a display in the newspapers, and then be forgotten, it would be unnecessary and indecorous for one like myself, standing in no public relation to occupy your time and attention.

But we are met on a solemn—I had almost said, an awful occasion. We assemble to consider the subject of the incendiary publications, and to provide measures for preventing our State from being inundated with the papers of reckless fanatics. But

intimately connected with the object of the meeting, is the consideration of the subject of slavery, as existing at the south. And when we reflect on the strong ground of our defense. I make no such erroneous and mortifying admissions. Let us suppose that the State of South Carolina were arraigned before the tribunal of the world, or the tribunal of posterity, to answer for the crime and the evils of slavery.—Mark her justification!

I waive the argument, that the non-slaveholding States have *equally participated in the guilt of the origin of slavery*, to use some harsher terms. (6)

I waive the argument, that the English nation are chargeable with having forced the system upon her American colonies; and that in the Declaration of Independence, as originally drawn by Mr. Jefferson, it was stated (among the grievances which had produced the revolution) that the King of England steadily resisted all efforts of the colonies to prevent the introduction of slaves.

I waive the argument, that the non-slaveholding States, while shunning slavery as an evil, and reprobating it as a crime, have participated, and do still continue to participate largely (though indirectly) in the profits of slavery. (7)

Behold (as a practical commentary) the great abolitionist of the north attacking the peace of the south, and endeavoring to corrupt the minds of our slaves with means furnished by a trade with the south. (8)

I waive the argument, that the condition of our slaves is *comfortable and happy*—beyond comparison more so than that of the lower classes in those countries where slavery does not exist by law. (9)

I waive the argument, that our laws for the regulation of slavery, and the protection of slaves, are wise and humane. (10)

I waive the argument, that the masters of our slaves in the south, (and especially in Carolina,) from a sense of justice and humanity, (though self-interested) would ensure such a result—discharge with fidelity and strictness their duties towards those who are dependent on them for food, clothing, and protection; and that those masters do more for their comfort and happiness, both temporal and eternal, than ever has been effected, by the *preaching of fanaticism*, and the *practice of folly*.

I waive the argument, founded on the example of Greece, of Rome, of the English colonies, and of the United States, confirming the lessons of history, in all countries, and at all times, that *the people are most free, prosperous, and happy, under those governments which recognize slavery*.

I waive the argument, founded on the instances of St. Domingo and the West India islands, which furnish startling commentaries on the direful consequences of slavery.

### NOTES.

(4) So are we. We appreciate the good sense of confining all argument in defense of slavery among its friends. Will not our doctors of divinity and learned professors begin to be ashamed of repeating apologies for slavery, which slaveholders themselves think best to keep at home?

But why are arguments needed among the friends of slavery? Is the "foundation" of their "rights"—to do wrong—beginning to give way? Do they find it necessary to "swear truth to England," to keep up their own belief?

(5) When good men are reviled, they revile not again.

(6) If slavery is not an evil, how could there be any "guilt" in its origin? Truly, the speaker has good reason to "waive the argument."

(7) The fact is, that the non-slaveholding States do not "reprobate slavery as a crime," and that is the reason why abolitionists preach and print at the north.

(8) What better proof of sincerity than to act against one's own "trade"? If the slaves themselves should be consulted, could they be better pleased than that their earnings should go to file off their chains?

(9) There are many who do not *waive* this argument, and yet they know it to be *false*.

(10) See Stroud's sketch of them—for sale at the Anti-Slavery office, 141, Nassau street.

quences of abolition. Aye, commentaries written in characters of fire, and dashed with blood!

I waive the argument that there is no State in the Union where the badge of slavery is not recognized; for there is no State in the Union where the colored population are admitted to a full participation of the rights and privileges of the citizen. They are, in all States, a degraded and inferior class,—the same causes which keep them in a state of *arrested slavery* at the south, keep them at the north in a state of slavery under the disguise of freedom! (11)

I waive the argument, founded on the political advantages of slavery in ameliorating the condition of the female sex (12)—in acting as

## Northern Spirit.

### MR. KING'S SPEECH IN THE SENATE OF OHIO.

If there was no other merit in the speech of a legislator, now-a-days, than a declaration of his paramount regard for "justice and moral duty," it would call for publication throughout the land. The following speech of Mr. King of the State Senate, we publish, not only because of the prominence it gives to this criterion of action, whether public or private, but because it is acceptable for its style, and for its manly and dignified moderation.

It would seem that to any one who can persuade himself to put away passion and prejudice, in considering the relations of the colored people to the whites; to any one who can approach the subject with the deliberation of the patriot-statesman, that he may reach the wisest conclusions for the general good—to such an one, we say, the course to be pursued is plain and easy. We will suggest a few points that seem to us worthy of consideration.

1. If it were intended in a short time to extirpate by putting to death, or to banish the colored people among us, there would not be a loud call for any plan to meliorate their condition. It would scarcely be worth the pains and trouble of bringing it into operation. But this cannot be done—our constitution, our laws, our humanity, meagre as it seems to be in regard to this class of our population, all, forbid either of these courses. The *presumption*, nay, the *certainty*, then is, that they and their multiplying descendants will remain among us. Calmly considering this as a *settled* point, what ought to be the aim of the enlarged and comprehensive and statesman-like mind in reference to them? Certainly, to make them as useful and valuable in the community, and therefore as happy in themselves—as laws founded on justice and benevolence can make them. He shows that his powers of observation have been employed to but little purpose, who recommends for the attainment of these objects, a system of hurtful oppression and cruelty, under the sanction of legislative enactment. Has this scheme ever been successful in making any class of people who have been its victims, more orderly, more virtuous, or more useful to themselves or the community at large? All history confirms the assertion that it has not. If there were as many tigers in the state, which the law said should not be killed, it would be the part of wisdom not to goad, and tease, and torment them. They ought rather, by mild usage, and gentle treatment, to be made as harmless as their nature would admit.

2. It is at least worthy of a trial, to treat the colored people with more kindness, than they have as yet experienced from us. Their present condition as a class, if it be as represented, is not owing to their many privileges—but to the *severity* of them. If those who have the power, were to deprive a similar number of the most ignorant and most neglected whites among us, of the rights they now enjoy, so as to put them on the same footing with the colored people—especially if such oppression were to be perpetuated on their offspring—they would, doubtless, soon furnish as many and as just grounds of complaint on account of depravity in its various phases, as the class about which we are now speaking. Why is a *free* government so desirable? Not, surely, altogether, because it enables men to make more money, and to enjoy the pleasures money buys, with more security than under a tyrannical one. No: but because it summons into unrestrained action, *all* man's powers—physical, intellectual, moral—suffering them to gambol in their native playfulness, in their first strength; to stretch forward honorable emulation and usefulness in the maturity of their vigor; and to go in and out, seeking that happiness which God has adapted to every department of his nature, and offers to his acceptance. Free governments make men *happier*, because their tendency is, to make them *better*.

3. As long as SLAVERY exists in the south, so long will there be an increase of this portion of our population. The few that are emancipated having no employment there, (for slaveholders will not as a general thing, employ free-men to labor with their slaves), will of course seek it in the free States. In the present state of things, they cannot be kept out of the free States—for as bad as is their condition here, it is not so bad as it is now, or likely to be hereafter, in the *slave* States.

The sympathy beginning to be felt by the people of the free States, for the persecuted and unfeeling offspring of those whose ancestors were the slaves of ours, is rapidly growing, and the next generation will blush, when they come to repeat the enactments of the present. Emancipation, at the south—*full emancipation*, is the only process by which the colored race in this country can be separated from the white. Let this take place, and the present slaves become at once, the laboring class in the south; reaping the reward of their labor, under the protection of just laws; forming a large proportion, if not a majority, of the population; having their own schools and churches, which their numbers would then enable them to support; in fine, "sitting under their own vine and fig tree, and none to make them afraid" of being flogged, or sold from their wives and their husbands, their children and their parents, which have heretofore been successful in refining and civilizing the race of man. This state of things in the south, where labor is more wanting than in the north, where the climate is more adapted to the colored man's constitution, and where there would be every inducement, so far as we can see, to operate on the colored population of the free States, would drain them off from the latter and settle them in the south.

Mr. KING spoke as follows:—

Mr. SPEAKER—I am fully sensible of the great and increasing interest and excitement which is manifested, and the diversity of opinions which are entertained, upon many questions which might fairly arise in a discussion of the subject embraced in the proposition under consideration. That it is one of extreme delicacy, involving important principles of constitutional rights and moral duties, which will require the utmost wisdom and prudence to settle and adjust satisfactorily to the people of the State,—the numerous petitions which have been presented to this body, from time to time, and year after year, numerously signed by all classes of society, in all sections of the State, asking for a repeal or modification of the existing laws upon this subject, sufficiently evince. That more rigorous measures, in relation to this unfortunate class of our population, are desired by any considerable portion of the people of the State, I have yet to learn.

The subject, however, when fairly presented to us for our action as legislators, is one that we cannot shrink from investigating, however unpleasant and undesirable it may be, and should bestow upon it that calm, dispassionate, and careful attention, which its importance requires.

Having no desire to bring into this discussion any unnecessary excitement, I shall endeavor to avoid whatever may have such a tendency, in stating, as briefly as possible, some of the reasons which impel me to oppose the passage of this resolution.

In coming to a conclusion upon the proposition presented, two questions very naturally present themselves for our consideration. The first is, can the measure proposed be sustained upon the broad principles of equity and justice? The second is one of policy and expediency. If, on an enlightened and comprehensive view of the whole subject, we shall be constrained to answer in the negative the question first suggested, then, I trust, all further examination will be needless.

It will not, I humbly conceive, be considered inappropriate on this occasion, to take a hasty glance at the situation and condition of this unfortunate race, whose interests and social relations are to be effected by this measure. By what means, and through whose agency, have our political connex-

ions been formed with these people, whom we now seek to cast out beyond the protection of our laws? Is it in consequence of any voluntary act on their part, that they are now found in our midst, scattered throughout our land? or have they by any transgression of our laws forfeited the right of protection, which all rightful governments are bound to extend to every member of the community?

To answer these questions satisfactorily to myself, I need not advert to the origin, nor trace the progress of that inhuman system which first brought them to our shores. Suffice it to say, on this occasion, that their introduction amongst us was an act of force and oppression on our part, unauthorized by our laws,—the pernicious consequences and withering effects of which were early foreseen, and boldly denounced, by some of the most eminent statesmen and illustrious patriots of America, while under the colonial government of Great Britain.

The inhumanity and injustice, as well as the impolicy and danger of the measure, were the subjects of repeated petitions and remonstrances to the British throne, by many of the colonial governments, at that early period of our history. Their complaints and remonstrances, however, were unavailing—they were compelled to submit to the strong arm of power,—and we are now reaping the bitter fruits of that policy, the baneful effects of which are already perceptible in all our social and civil institutions, and would to God we were sure they would not yet convulse this nation to its center, and spread desolation and death throughout this sensitive, thinking, and divided republic.

And most heartily could I rejoice, did the faithful pages of history disclose that our connexion with, and approbation of this unrighteous system, as a nation, terminated with our allegiance to the British crown—that the odium and the responsibility of the measure might have rested upon that government alone which advised it. Then, indeed, might we, with more seeming plausibility, now seek to absolve ourselves from the moral obligations which are now entailed upon us, as a nation, to sustain and protect them.

Unfortunately for our reputation and character, for our peace and quietude, this consoling reflection is denied us. Already has the pen of the historian recorded, that for more than a quarter of a century after we had assumed an independent rank amongst the nations of the earth; after we had promulgated to the world the liberal principles upon which our government was to be founded and administered; after proclaiming, as a part of our political creed, "that all men were born free and equal—that they were endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that the just powers of a government were derived only from the consent of the governed—that whenever a government became destructive of the ends of justice, it was the right and duty of the people to alter or abolish it,"—this barbarous system of stealing from their homes in a distant land this portion of the human family, transporting them to our country, and selling them in our markets—practice which has since been stamped with infamy by the whole civilized world, and punished with death—was diligently pursued by our citizens, encouraged by our laws, and guaranteed by the Constitution of our country.

It has thus been under the most solemn oaths of the government of our own choice, that our land has been filled with this class of our population, by which we have incurred the sacred moral obligations of providing for their safety and protection. And can we now, under these circumstances, with any regard to justice, as separate sovereignties, State by State absolve ourselves from these moral obligations, and, under the plea that they are becoming burdensome to the State, cast them as outlaws from the community.

As well might we attempt, in the present enlightened age, to justify that barbarous practice of ancient times amongst the Romans, of destroying that portion of the population which, through natural or physical defects, they were apprehensive would become chargeable to the State; or the still more ancient one adopted by the Egyptian monarch, of slaying the first-born of the Israelites, to lessen the danger apprehended from their becoming too numerous for the safety and welfare of his own people and the stability of his government. The reasons and the motives assigned in the former, can alone be urged in the present case. It was then claimed to be a measure of public policy, required for the security and well-being of that portion of the community who held the power and controlled the destinies of the nation: and if the manner of attaining the same object strikes us with greater abhorrence, their rightful claim to exact implicit obedience to all measures of State policy from that portion of the people upon whom this power was to be exercised, must also strike us with greater force.

They had voluntarily emigrated to that country—submitted themselves to its government and laws—and were indebted to them for the preservation of their lives. In that instance, as is the present, however, it was an arbitrary act, founded in power, and not in right and justice.

But it is asked, what shall be done with this class of our population? and if any are desirous that this degraded race should remain amongst us?

To the first enquiry I would reply, that I would yet do them justice which is still in our power. Instead of still further restricting and degrading them, I would, until some other liberal and just measure was adopted for their future welfare and disposition, extend to them those rights and privileges which, as a nation, we have declared the whole family of man are justly entitled to, and which the Constitution of our country secures to all its citizens,—of acquiring property, obtaining employment, and following the pursuits of industry with that high-minded people to induce them to decide, that whatever might be the project or how great soever the advantages might be to their State, it should be at once and forever abandoned.

It was the influence of such principles that elevated those ancient Republics of Greece, in the scale of moral excellence and power, so far above the nations which surrounded them; and it was a departure from these principles both in Greece and Rome, in creating different castes and grades in society, which laid the foundation for those intestine contentions and dissensions, and those partisan contests for power between the Patricians and the Plebeians, which deluged their land in blood, and finally subverted their popular governments, and destroyed their liberties.

I will give my hearty and cordial co-operation to any measure required by the interests of the State, in relation to this people, at almost any sacrifice, except the sacrifice of justice and moral duty; but I cannot yield my assent to a measure which I do not believe is called for by the people, and which I deem a violation of both, and of the Constitution of the Nation, and of this State.

without doing violence to all the principles of justice and moral duty, and to the maxims and spirit of our laws, avoid the consequences and responsibilities of our own wrongful acts, by assuming the position that they have now become measures of self-defence. Such a plea could not be sustained in the administration of justice under our criminal code, even where the life of a fellow-being was involved—much less, then, should it be adopted, when the object sought to be attained was to confer benefits on one class of the community at the expense of another.

It is a course of reasoning which has so often been resorted to by those in power, to secure prerogatives and privileges to themselves, but which, if applied to them as the *minor class*, they would spurn from them with horror.

It would then, most clearly, become a tyrant's plea for an act of injustice and oppression. It has not, nor will it ever be urged by any who are not of that class to whom the benefits will result; nor will it ever be cordially acquiesced in by those whom it is intended to depress.

It has often been asserted they are an inferior, degraded, and indolent race, and that no moral or intellectual culture can ever elevate them to the same level of the whites. Whether this assertion, however strongly supported by facts drawn from their present condition, is sufficient to overthrow the only authentic history of the origin of man, that God formed of one blood all the nations of the earth, I will leave for each to determine for himself.

Before coming to a conclusion upon that point, however, I would recommend that they extend their researches beyond those influences and circumstances, which at present surround and control them in this country. I would ask them to ascertain from the history of man, the effects which the same influences and circumstances have had upon other nations and people in other times, and learn the truth of that statement handed down to us from the celebrated poet of Greece, in relation to another people,

"That whatever day  
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."

The measures which have been pursued in relation to this class of our population, are directly calculated to extinguish in them all sense of moral justice and obligation, and to keep them in that state of ignorance and degradation which they now occupy. They have no motives to stimulate them to industry, or to acquire knowledge, if it was in their power. And while they behold all their natural, personal, and social rights trampled upon—their circumscribed means of enjoyment arbitrarily taken from them, and all that man holds dear, or that can render life desirable, and even life itself insecure and unprotected,—the irresistible impulse of our nature is to disregard all laws made for the protection of those rights in others. It arises from the same conviction of right, that we take the life of one, who would take our own.

In reviewing the history of former times, however, it will be found that the sons of Africa have not always held a secondary rank in the scale of nations; nor are we without evidence at the present day, that they are still capable of self-government, of sustaining themselves as a people, of securing and establishing their rights, and of maintaining them against fearful odds, by their own laws. Indeed, if it were otherwise, it would only show, in a still stronger light, the duty of extending to them the same benevolent protection, which we do to other classes of society who are incapable of protecting themselves.

In after times, while the magnificent establishments which are now erecting throughout the land at the public expense, for the sustenance, comfort, and the restoration of the sick and infirm—for the education and instruction of the dumb and the blind—for the amelioration of the condition, and the preservation of the lunatic and the insane, and for the reformation of the transgressors of our laws, will remain as lasting monuments of the benevolence and philanthropy of our State towards those unfortunate classes of society; and while the policy which has been pursued in relation to the remaining tribes of the Aborigines of this country, in securing to them a portion of the public domain, and providing for their removal and sustenance, will show to our descendants that, as a nation, we were not wholly regardless of the forms and principles of moral justice in our dealings with them, our acts of cruelty and oppression towards this unfortunate race, will be transcribed upon records more durable than marble, as lasting as time, as mementoes of our inconsistency and avarice, and of the injustice and inhumanity which has been extended to them.

For myself, sir, so long as I hold a seat upon this floor, whenever the alternative is presented to choose between an act of justice, and of State policy requiring a sacrifice of justice, I will ever pursue the course adopted by the celebrated Athenian denominated the Just, who, on being selected by the council of his State to hear the disclosures of one of his colleagues in the government, who had conceived a project which he represented would be of the utmost utility and benefit to their own State among the confederate States of Greece, after hearing the disclosure, at once openly declared to the people, that although nothing could be of greater advantage to his native city than the project of his colleague, yet at the same time nothing could be more unjust.

This simple statement alone, was sufficient with that high-minded people to induce them to decide, that whatever might be the project or how great soever the advantages might be to their State, it should be at once and forever abandoned.

It was the influence of such principles that elevated those ancient Republics of Greece, in the scale of moral excellence and power, so far above the nations which surrounded them; and it was a departure from these principles both in Greece and Rome, in creating different castes and grades in society, which laid the foundation for those intestine contentions and dissensions, and those partisan contests for power between the Patricians and the Plebeians, which deluged their land in blood, and finally subverted their popular governments, and destroyed their liberties.

I will give my hearty and cordial co-operation to any measure required by the interests of the State, in relation to this people, at almost any sacrifice, except the sacrifice of justice and moral duty; but I cannot yield my assent to a measure which I do not believe is called for by the people, and which I deem a violation of both, and of the Constitution of the Nation, and of this State.

### Congressional.

Extracts from the Washington Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

Our latest dates from Washington, are Jan. 5th, giving the proceedings in Congress, of Monday, Jan 4th. It is humiliating to observe the transactions of the House of Representatives. Nothing has yet been done, of any importance, except to battle, in various forms, the abolition and anti-slavery question. The southern members are pursuing a course very much to be regretted. They go for strangling all enquiry; for choking off petitions, remonstrances, recommendations; every thing not in accordance with their own views. It was the south that caused the following provision to be inserted in the Constitution of the United States, by way of amendment:—

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Our latest intelligence, Monday, January 4th, brought back the abolition question, in all its virulence. There is every indication of great exasperation during the present session. There seems to be no one in the House, either qualified or disposed to act efficiently, in calming the troubled waters. In the Senate, there is less tumult.

### Freedom of the Press and of Speech.

#### THE ABOLITION QUESTION.

We continue to-day the debate in Congress on the "Abolition Question"—a term it has now certainly assumed, in consequence of the violence of certain southern members, (*Nullifiers*.) In vain did the friends of the administration endeavor to refer it, *sub silentio*, to the committee on the District of Columbia. It must be met—it ought to be met—it shall be met, declared a member from the south—and where, when, or how it will end, it is impossible to say. That Congress will by a deliberate veto abridge even in the least degree, the clear and unquestionable right to petition, we do not believe.

The representative of a *free* people assumes a fearful responsibility when he assents, either by word or deed, to the restriction of this right. We are not prepared for *retrograde* measures in any form—for who does not see that if this is conceded to *nullification*, it is only preliminary to other and higher demands. If a law is passed, declaring no petitions shall be received by Congress on a certain subject, it would be well to enquire, what the next demand may be.

Every reader must have heard of the famous "Sybilline leaves." The Sybil disposed of them freely—when she rose exorbitantly in her demands for the remainder. We, too, may dispose freely of the *leaves* of the Constitution, (guaranteed rights) but will this satisfy the rapacity of the faction who are seeking, under the cover of *state rights*, to imitate that grand palladium of our liberties? No—with each succeeding compliance, they will rise in their demands, until every State, Territory, and District throughout the wide extent of the Union, shall be brought in servile subjection to their own domination. We do not wish to excite unnecessary alarm—but suppose we examine a little closer into the matter, and arrange the demands as they may, and no doubt would be made, in the order of their exactation—that is, if the right of petitioning should be abridged:—

1. No memorial shall be received by Congress in reference to the District of Columbia.

2. No law shall be passed by Congress, having the remotest relation to the subject of slavery.

3. Slavery, as a domestic institution, shall be perpetuated henceforth and forever.

4. Congress shall pass a law rendering it penal for any post-master to transmit any newspaper, periodical, or letter, which contains any expression on the subject of slavery.

5. No man north of the Potomac, shall speak or write on the subject of slavery: if so, a formal decree shall be made on the Governor of the State in which he may have committed the offence, who shall forthwith deliver him up, in order that he may be taken south of the Potomac, and put to death according to southern laws.

6. No man or woman of the Potomac, shall agitate the question in any manner whatever, or even pronounce "slavery an evil, and say it ought to be abolished:"—on doing so, no matter in what section of the Union the offence may be committed, he or she so offending, shall at once be taken before a magistrate, and committed, as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor against the sovereignty and integrity of the several States of the Union.

These are a few of the beauties of "the restrictive system," when carried out practically. Penal measures having once been commenced,—who shall say when and where they ought to stop? This is a delicate point for our consideration. If Congress should pass a law on this subject, regulating the marts, what a singular scene must such a course inevitably superinduce. Each post-master in the Union must be made a censor. On him or his agents devolves the high office of opening and inspecting each paper or periodical, to ascertain its contents—(on the subject of opening letters, we shall say nothing; for they can scarcely suppose for a moment, we will be either so submissively tame, or supremely stupid, as to yield this right along with others.) Well: the post-master finds an article under the head of Slavery, or any other caption—but the article is calmly written—contains statistical information, and among other views, an examination into the benefits of abolishing slavery in the West India islands;—in a word, a view of the apprenticeship system, and a comparative statement of the gross amount of the products of the islands, before and after its adoption. The first question with the post-master will naturally be—is, or is not the article *incendiary*? His determination may be either affirmative or negative. If the latter, it is re-enclosed, and forwarded. If the former, it according to what may be the complexion or his mind, comes to the conclusion that it may produce discussion or enquiry at home—in other words, make men think—for facts are the materials of philosophy—and we must think before we can become philosophers. We will take an example. The publishers of the New York Evening Post have an unquestionable right to publish and circulate their paper: this will not be denied. They are *freemen* protected by the laws, in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and the profits of their vocation are the means whereby they live. As has been the case, so again the paper may contain temporally written articles on the slave question. It is sent to the N. Y. post-office, and examined. Mr. Post-master, or one of his clerks in his absence, detains the whole mail, and throws it into one corner, to be sold as *subversive*—one of the perquisites of

right of free discussion than himself," is entitled to no greater weight, than the worn out declaration of the slaveholder, that "he is in favor of emancipation," whilst he holds a score or two of his fellow-creatures in bonds, and is careful to transmit them to his children. Any one can make it. Louis Philippe, doubtless, would feel himself greatly aggrieved, were he to be set down as an enemy to *free discussion* and to the *liberty of the press*: yet he puts men in prison, and fines them for its use.

Mr. Clay said, "he had been told, that the people of the non-slaveholding States had a right to *discuss* the question of Slavery; but he denied the right of discussion on a subject where, politically speaking, there was no right to *decide*. Discussion was the antecedent to deliberation, deliberation to decision—and the people of the non-slaveholding States had no right to *decide* on the question of Slavery. It was a matter for the slaveholding States exclusively." A moment's examination of the positions here taken, will show into what absurdities the best minds will fall when *passion* is permitted to supply its *principles*.

Mr. Clay would not deny that there is a right to discuss the question of Slavery *somewhere*. If it be not in the *free States*, it must be in the *slave States*. If so, where is the guarantee by which they claim it "exclusively"? It is not in the Constitution of the United States; for this recognizes no difference. If it is on the ground of her *sovereignty*, Ohio and the other free States are not inferior in dignity and power. If South Carolina should say to Ohio, *You shall not discuss this subject*; would not Ohio have the same right, in virtue of her entire *equality*, to lay the same embargo on the minds and the tongues of South Carolina? The right to discuss this very question, Ohio used at the institution of her government; and she has not yet surrendered it. In what terms of indignation would not the Convention of this State have replied to the insulting mandate from Virginia, charging them not to discuss a subject belonging exclusively to her and her slaveholding peers! Mr. Clay, it would seem, is outstripping Gov. McDuffie—for even he, it is not to be supposed, would expect us to decide on his recommendation to Ohio to establish *slavery*, as the best means of preserving her *liberty*, without having all the advantages that could be derived from Mr. Clay's formal preliminaries, "*deliberation*" and "*discussion*."

The reasoning by which Mr. Clay attempts to maintain his position, that the *free States* have no right to discuss the question of Slavery, is, to the full, as singular—not to say ridiculous—as the position itself. To prove it so, we ask nothing more than that he submit to be tried by his own principles—What right, then, had he and the little band around him engaged in shouting his praise when he aimed this blow—ineffectual we trust, against his *country*—but suicidal to himself, and going to the very life's blood of his fame:—what right, we repeat, had they to "*decide*" on "*rights*" claimed by Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio! None. They could "*decide*" nothing. Therefor, by this coarse logic, they had no right to discuss them. Will Mr. Clay remember the time, when—it he was not honored with the name of "fanatic," he was not spared that of "*factions oppositionist*"—he proposed, and urged on his country with some of the best efforts of his eloquence, a recognition of the independence of the revolted colonies of Spain? Will he remember how he pressed into the foremost rank, in "*discussing*" in Congress, the cause of the revolted Greeks? And yet Congress could "*decide*" nothing that would be obligatory on any of the parties; all they could do, was to manifest their love of liberty, and animate by their sympathy, those who were struggling for its enjoyments.

But the principle, as laid down by Mr. Clay, can have no application, at present, to any part of our country. The non-slaveholding States, although they have inhibited slaveholding within their own limits, still, they, equally with the south, are maintaining it in the District of Columbia, and giving it their sanction and approbation on the admission into this Confederacy, of every new State in which this form of oppression is established by its Constitution. Should they at any time desire to bring it to a termination in the District of Columbia—to petition for its abolition as a grievance, as they are now doing; and to ask of their Senators and Representatives in Congress their co-operation, surely "*discussion and deliberation*" cannot be denied them. May they not discuss the propriety of petitioning at all? If they may, what more proper to direct them than calm and well-authenticated accounts of the evils and benefits of slavery? What would have a juster influence, than the repeated acknowledgment of Mr. Clay, after a personal experience of more than fifty years, of the great injury it was inflicting on our country; or than the official argument of Governor McDuffie, proving it a signal blessing—a religious institution? To deny to the free States the right to discuss the question of Slavery, is, at once, to degrade their constitutional independence below that of the slave States—to say to them, that they have no share in the "*exclusive legislation*" over the district confined by the Constitution to Congress, and to hand over the *Capitol* and the *ten miles square* to be controlled by the well regulated tempers of southern representatives, and to the tender mercies of slaveholding legislation.

Some may find fault with the language of this article, as unnecessarily harsh and severe. To such we reply, it is not with Mr. Clay, but with his sentiments we have to do. Were he without influence, his attack on rights that are "inestimable to freemen," might pass unnoticed. But he stands high in the confidence of his fellow-citizens; to many, his opinions are as oracles. When, then, the barriers of our liberty find in such an one an assailant, it is high time he was met by their defenders, with great plainness of speech, if not sternness of rebuke. Whilst we have lost none of our good will for Mr. Clay personally, we are compelled to acknowledge, that this last act of his has greatly impaired our respect for him as an enlightened statesman, a friend of republican principles at home, and of liberty throughout the world. Much is it to be feared, that with a fatuity which long-continued slaveholding often superinduces over the best minds; with a rashness which calls for censure more loudly than any opposing feeling; with a blindness, which will discern no ray of the light now fast breaking in on America, and the whole civilized world, and by which his character, in all its aspects, will be judged; that he has taken the first step to erase his name from the roll of the Sharps, the Clarksons, the Foxes, the Wilberforces, and the Pitts, that he might re-inscribe it on that of the Watsons, the Gascoigns, the McDuffies, the Lumpkins', and the Wises.

CINCINNATI REPUBLICAN.—The following article is from the Cincinnati Republican of the 9th inst.—

We have received the first number of an *Abolition paper*, printed at New Richmond, Ohio, mis-called the *Philanthropist*. The editor, in his introduction, gives

us to understand, that his original determination was to publish his paper in Cincinnati; but, receiving a hint that the attempt would be attended with serious consequences, he concluded prudence was the better part of valor, and has commenced the promulgation of his *incendiary documents* at New Richmond.

We have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Ramsay, the gentleman, who is, as we are informed, the editor of this journal. Notwithstanding, we expect to be thus greeted by him; for there had been made on us, from several quarters, quite a favorable impression, as to his discretion and sense of propriety. In any notice he should be pleased to take of the *Philanthropist*, we look for nothing that would justly affect our estimation of him, or in the least, tend to bring into further disrespect the right of discussion, or the safety of those who would use it, whilst he himself uses it so abundantly, and feels in his own case, how pleasant it is, under the protection he enjoys, to use it *fearlessly*.

It is not our intention, that any respectable editor shall bring us to trial on an indictment where we are charged in so general a manner with "incendiary doctrines."

We shall always call, as we do now, for specifications, so minute, that we can answer them. If convicted, we will make confession of our error, and endeavor to profit by the discovery.

But we insist on having pointed out to us, the part of our doctrines, as contained in our first No. that is "incendiary." Is it "incendiary" for us to reply in terms of mildness and forbearance to the resolutions, of a southern "vigilance committee"—in which we were traduced, and held up to public obloquy, in company with gamblers, &c. Is it "incendiary" to object to the outrages committed by the south during the last six months?—To their whippings, their tortures, and their illegal executions of unfriended strangers? Is the south to break through every barrier of law—to trample under foot every constitutional protection to which the citizens of the free States, going into it, are used to confide their persons and their property, and not even a faint murmur of disapprobation be raised? Are the people of the free States to be taunted and insulted by a slaveholding governor, recommending to them in an official document, the establishment of *slavery*, as the best means of preserving their *liberty*—are we to hear the demands made on us by the south to put down the freedom of the press and of speech, to surrender our citizens to the mercies of a southern court and jury—to strip ourselves of the blessings of liberty, that they may enjoy the blessings of slavery—is all this we say, to be received from the south, with the quiet submission of their own slaves, and is the man that would raise the voice of enquiry only, forthwith to be cried down as an "incendiary"? We assure Mr. Ramsey, if to cry out for liberty, in the streets, when her enemies have broken open her sanctuary, and are making her sacred things *plunder*—is to brand us as an *incendiary*, we plead guilty—trusting that our children after us may be as guilty as we, whatever may be the consequences.

That both sides may be heard on the subject of slavery, we devote a large portion of the *Philanthropist* to a republication of southern views and arguments. Surely the Editor of the *Republican* will not object to this—unless, i may be, he is desirous of monopolizing the honor of defending slavery, and of *leading* the south in its onset on the rights of the north. If he does, we admonish him that the slaveholders can furnish abler and older soldiers for this warfare than he—and that as long as they can equip for the field such Goliaths, as Hayne and McDuffie, and Tazwell and Calhoun, to defy their adversaries, they will not greatly need the services of a raw recruit, however burning may be his zeal, or sevile his obedience.

A word or two more to Mr. Ramsey: The cause of constitutional liberty—staggered for a little while by the influence of the slaveholding spirit on the *lees* of the people in the eastern cities—is beginning again to stand erect. It has appealed to the people—to the great body of the people—and not in vain. The summons to her rescue is becoming every day more thrilling to those who have no other interest than in its preservation. The fury of the south, displayed through their governors, their *legislatures* and their *representatives* in Congress, is making *incendiaries* by the thousand. It is making the cause of *liberty* more precious—the cause of *slavery* more odious. Be assured, sir, before the revolution of another year, it will be the cause of no small regret to you, that you will not be able to deny the paternity of the little article to which this is a reply.

VAGRANCY.—From the New Hampshire *Sat'sman*, we learn that the Rev. M. Storrs, an exemplary and able minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and with whom we have the pleasure of an acquaintance, was arrested, a short time since, in Nort field, in New Hampshire, on a charge of *vagrancy*. The fact on which the charge was founded, was, that he *preached and lectured to show to his auditors that slaveholding is not only sinful in the sight of God, but injurious to our country*.

Truly our friend Storrs has fallen on strange, if not evil times. We congratulate him on his acquittal. But let him look to it that his ingenuous countrymen do not prefer a second prosecution, and expose him to the ordeal of being weighed against the Bible, or of being cast into a mill pond, tied hand and foot. We would as soon expect to hear of his being tried under the old law against *witchcraft*, as under the law against *vagrancy*. Some spots in New England, seem scarcely yet to have emerged from that state of society in which the first was so effectual.

How difficult it is to convince the people of the nineteenth century, of what took place in the eighteenth!

Then it was that slander and reviling, and brick-bats, and bludgeons, and rotten eggs, and mob-law, and state-law,

were all fairly tried to put down Wesley, the founder of the religious denomination to which Mr. Storrs is attached, and his little band of determined coadjutors.

So has been thus far, with the great principles of liberty,

founded on the true and unalterable relation of things,

recognized in the Declaration of Independence, and con-

tinued for by abolitionists. In the persecutions of the last two years, is there an instance, where the cause of

human rights has not been forwarded? The *folly* of per-

secuting any cause, is equal to its *wickedness*.

GOV. MARCY AND GOV. GAYLE.—The same paper which gives the account of Mr. Storrs' arrest and trial, says it cannot see on what ground the demand made by Gov. Gayle on the Governor of New York for the delivery of Mr. Williams, (a citizen of New York, who, we believe has never been within five hundred miles of Alabama,) can be resisted. We will assist in opening his eyes, for him to see, (what probably, has been unknown to him heretofore,) that part of the Constitution of the United States which says, "a person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be

delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."

Governor Marcy has read the horn book of our rights to better purpose, in our judgment, than the Editor of the N. H. *Statesman*—having refused to deliver up Mr. Williams to be removed to Alabama. For the speedy and peaceful termination of slavery in the south, nothing more is wanting on the part of the free States, but a calm, deliberate maintenance of their constitutional rights. Such a course will soon dissipate the froth, which, on the subject of slavery, has covered up the good sense that is in the south, and prevented it from devising the means, which it will then soon discover, for getting rid of slavery.

THE CINCINNATI ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—Held its first annual meeting on Tuesday, 5th instant, at the school room of Mr. Alexander Kinmont, classical teacher. The chair was taken at 7 o'clock, P. M. by the President,

JANE C. LUDLOW.

The Treasurer's report—(annexed)—was read and received. Also the report of the Depository Committee—those who have entered into an arrangement with Messrs. TAUMLAN & SMITH, booksellers, Main Street, to sell anti-slavery publications on commission.

Mr. Birney, who had been appointed for that purpose at a previous meeting of the Executive Committee, delivered a lecture, in which he attempted to answer many of the objections made to the right, on the part of the free States to discuss the subject of slavery, as well as those to the course pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Declaration of Sentiment and Constitution of the Society were then read, and several gentlemen of those present became members.

Several of the members made contributions to the funds of the society—others pledged themselves to contribute certain sums, at regular periods.

Officers chosen for the ensuing year—

JAMES C. LUDLOW,	President,
ISAAC COLBY,	1. Vice Pres't,
WILLIAM T. TRUMAN,	2. Vice Pres't,
JAMES G. BIRNEY,	Cor. Sec.
GAM'L BAILEY, JR.	Rec. Sec.
WILLIAM DONALDSON,	Treasurer.

MANAGERS.

John Melendy,	Ben'j'n Bassett,
F. A. Sayre,	J. C. Clopper,
C. Donaldson,	A. Hopkins,
M. R. Robinson,	Thomas Maylin,
Rees E. Price,	Wm. Holyoke.

TREASURER'S REPORT,

Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society, in account with Wm. DONALDSON, Treasurer. DR.

To cash remitted to R. G. Williams, for publications,	\$230 75
To cash paid Exchange on the above,	1 50
" " Postage,	11 67
" " Freight, &c. on publications,	5 23
" " Blank Books, &c.	1 88
" " Remitted to R. G. Williams, in part of \$150 pledged to the A. A. S. S.	55 00
" " Printing,	6 00
Cash—balance on hand,	30 07
	\$342 20
By Cash rec'd on subscription for Depository, for Publications sold,	\$102 97
" " on loan, to be repaid out of the sale of publications,	83 73
" " of A. Wattles,	100 50
	55 00
	\$242 20

Cincinnati, Jan. 5th, 1836.

WM. DONALDSON, Treasurer.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the New-York Evangelist.

ENERGY OF CHARACTER.

Some men have a spirit of decision which will not suffer them to remain neutral on any question of importance. No sooner is such a case presented to a man of this character, than a hasty decision is followed by immediate energetic action. This haste may sometimes throw him on the wrong side, and he may be the means of much harm; still, such an one, however blundering, cannot fail if his motives be right, of accomplishing far more good in the course of his life, than one of those who will do nothing for fear of doing wrong.

And when they are right in their plans and methods, this promptness and energy of character are truly invaluable.

The apostle Paul was a man of this stamp. No sooner has he completed his education, than, being "exceedingly zealous" of the law, he enters upon a scheme for exterminating Christianity. It is not probable that he engaged in this enterprise without some consideration. We may imagine him consulting with some of the chief priests, better acquainted than himself with the sect to be suppressed. "What are they?" enquires the young Pharisee. "They are *fanatics* and *enthusiasts*," answers an old priest, "who maintain opinions too absurd to be refuted." "They are *disorganizers*," says another, "for whenever their doctrines prevail, the son dishonors his father, the daughter raiseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes are of his own household."

"Their doctrines are *incendiary*, and make a tumult among the people," adds a third, who had lent his own influence to these mobs to suppress arguments he could not answer, and who did not seem to see the monstrous injustice of charging the guilt of a mob to its victims. "They are *traitors*, and will cause the Romans to come and take away both our place and our nation," rejoined the fourth, who enjoyed a fat office by the favor of the oppressors of his nation.

"Nor is the character of their leaders," adds another, "better than their principles. Matthew the publican was one of the most notorious speculators in all

Gallilee. Can such a man advocate the truth?"

"Another acknowledged leader," continues a fifth,

"is a perjuror, who once disavowed the sect under oath."

"This same Peter," adds a sixth, "uses the most opprobrious epithets the Hebrew language can furnish. He calls our whole nation murderers."

"Their professed Head and Founder was always of

falsity to the people," says the seventh. "It is in

evidence," says the eighth, "that he threatened to destroy the temple of our holy religion. And worse than that, he called our most venerable men and pious pharisees *hypocrites*," says the ninth. "Nay," says the tenth, "his projects of destruction were boundless. It is in evidence, that he threatened to kindle a fire upon the earth. His very words were taken down, *What will I if it be already kindled?*" Then follow in quick succession other charges, such as malice can at any time pick up, blacker if possible, though less authentic. The well known history of Judas serves for the conclusion.

Such probably was the information on which Paul founded his opinion of the Christian system. As he

considers the standing of his informers, men venerable for their age—men of tried character and high ecclesiastical standing, (the D. D.'s of their day)

can he doubt the justice of their allegations? He receives his commission and withdraws. So far his guilt appears comparatively small. He has acted

"ignorantly and in unbelief." True, a hasty decision

is wrong. But in another aspect he appears more deeply guilty. Suppose Christianity false, in this respect he was not the less guilty because it was false. Paul knew that the Christians were *MRN*—that they had the rights of men. He would have shrank with horror from the idea of robbing them of their *money* by false imprisonment and beating. But he was willing to take from them by violence a right far dearer than money, the right of expressing and defending their opinions, and complying with the duties of their consciences toward God. He sought by this means to avoid a gulph of anarchy into which he supposed the nation about to plunge, believing probably, the end would justify the means.

But "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Little did the sanhedrin think that their

children must drain the dregs from the bitter cup

their fathers had mingled for the Christians. But in

&lt;

5th. Because the expense of exportation would be intolerable.

6th. Because all plans of colonization hitherto adopted, and it is presumed that no efforts have been spared, have proved miserable abortions—the pitiful result of the splendid schemes of fanaticism.

7th. Because the weight of the southern States in the federal council would, from the consequent loss of representation, be weakened and destroyed. (19)

8th. Because, exportation would be ruin—utter ruin to our slaves themselves. It would be the direst cruelty that could be inflicted on a race of unoffending mortals. It would be sending them forth to beggary and starvation, or to perish horribly in mutual slaughter.

*They could not be emancipated and suffered to remain.*

1st. Because this would bring upon our slaves many, and upon ourselves all, the evils attendant on emancipation and exportation.

2d. Because, the negro is, *as* his intellectual and moral organization, incapable of being civilized, or of enjoying freedom; utterly incompetent to become a citizen of a civilized community.

3d. Because, instead of being (as they now are,) peaceful, industrious, well-regulated and happy beings, they would become *unruly, idle, turbulent, and wretched beyond description.*

4th. Because they never could participate in the rights and privileges of the white citizens. So far from rising to refinement in life, they would corrupt the principles of one half of our population, and drag them down—down to their own *depraved, degraded and disgusting condition!* (20)

But there is one consequence—certain and inevitable—arising from emancipating and retaining our slaves, which the eager and zealous disciples of abolition and universal emancipation seem to be incapable of understanding.

All history shows that the same country cannot contain free races of men, too distinct and different to amalgamate, without destruction to one or the other, or both. (21) See it in the fate of the aborigines of this country. So long as the *color* remained, (if all the causes of difference could be removed,) there could be no union. The contest would lead to a fierce and desperate struggle for supremacy, ending in the extermination of one or the other, or both!—Cold must be the bosom—*Satan-like* the heart of him who can contemplate such a prospect without dismay and horror.

Yet such would be the result—the *inevitable result* of the alternative to *exportation*.

It does appear to me, Mr. Chairman, that there is in this matter a *stern necessity* beyond our control. The thing can be done. Our colored population can cease to be slaves by being chased out of the State—our white population can cease to be masters “by running away from their homes or submitting their throats to the knife. But it cannot be” done without destruction to slave and master—it cannot be done without plunging our happy State into ruin—it cannot be done without sacrificing all that we value, all that we love, and all that we reverence as freemen, as parents, as citizens of South Carolina. If this be not necessity, then words have lost their meaning.

We have no alternative or choice. Give it as granted that slavery is an evil, which *I totally deny*; give it as granted that slavery is a crime, which is *hateful and false*—to us and to our slaves there is no relief but ruin—no antidote but death. For us to part from this species of property, must be regarded as an *impossibility*.

Those who may imagine that any change is to be effected in our domestic policy, might as well talk of making the Edisto run backwards—they might as well talk of picking up Barnwell District and chucking it to the other side of the Savannah—they might as well talk of travelling in a steam car to the moon! or (to use more solemn language) they might as well talk of *blowing up the foundation of our state, or of thrusting us (slaves and masters) into one common grave.*—*Evangelist.*

*(To be continued.)*

#### NOTES.

(19) Our plan would give the southern States a fair representation instead of a partial one. It would make a full man out of every two thirds of a man.

(20) Four assertions but no proof.

(21) This does not apply, because the amalgamation has commenced already. *Eccles. Signum.* Last year, Dr. Rufus Haywood, of Raleigh, N. C. pursued and took a slave in New York, who was his OWN COUSIN. “*Satan-like*,” indeed, must be the heart that can make *color* a ground of hatred. If this argument prove true, earth is hell, and men are devils!

#### Dough-Face Department.

From the Cleveland Herald.

#### ANTI-ABOLITION MEETING.

At an unusually numerous and highly respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Willoughby, convened at the academy, on Saturday evening, December 26th, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of permitting certain abolition lectures by a Mr. Alvord, in that place.—Daniel Christy, Esq. was called to the chair, Lewis R. Meeks and Andrew Hood, Esqrs. were appointed secretaries.

The meeting was addressed at some length, by Daniel Walsh, and other citizens, explanatory of the objects, designs and highly creditable course of the abolitionists.

On motion of Dr. Walsh, it was unanimously

Resolved, That whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, the subject of slavery has been committed entirely to the government of the several States in which it exists, and whereas the agitation of the subject of immediate emancipation at the present time, would have the unbalanced effect of placing us in a hostile attitude towards our brethren of the south. Therefore—

Resolved, that we view with indignation mingled with regret, the arrival in this place of a disseminator of doctrines alike injurious to the interests of the black population, and subversive of the harmony of the Union.

Resolved, That Mr. Alvord be requested to withdraw his presence from the room immediately, and from our village as soon as possible.

On motion of the Hon. Simeon Fuller,

Resolved, that after the close of this meeting, we as citizens, will separate and retire to our respective homes.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Cleveland Herald, Cleveland Advertiser, and Painesville Telegraph.

The meeting was then adjourned, after giving three cheers for the Union.

Between two and three hundred persons were present at the meeting; and the greatest good order and unanimity prevailed.

DANIEL CHRISTY, Ch'n.

LEWIS R. MEeks, *Secy.*

ANDREW HOOD, *Secy.*

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY UPON THE CHURCH.—What are the benefits that slavery has conferred upon the church, in return for its Christian baptism, and its hearty welcome to the communion of the saints? It builds anew and sanctifies the heathen barrier of caste, and while her prayers and her aims traverse oceans to find heathen in the ends of the earth, it shuns up her bowels against the heathen at her own door, and of her own creation; and, as if to make the church the derision of scoffers, it grants her special indulgence to make heathen at home for her own benefit, provided, by way of penance, she contributes a tithe for the conversion of heathen abroad.—*Ohio Declaration.*

Mr. Thome, of Kentucky, once said,—“The plantations of the south are grave-yards of the mind—the inexpressive countenances of the slaves are monuments of souls expired,—and their spiritless eyes are their epitaphs.”

“What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God of hosts.”—*Isaiah, the Prophet of the Lord.*

#### Poetry.

#### SLAVERY.

Extract from a poem written by Wm. P. Palmer, and spoken before the Anti-Slavery Society of Williams College.

Ask of the rolling spheres that fly  
In the deep blue skies away,  
Far as creation's boundary,  
What sceptre ye obey?

And they shall sing in their loudest strain,  
On, on—we wear no tyrant's chain!

Ask of the winds before whose might  
The clouds in their splendor flee,  
And the eagle stoops from his daring height,—  
Whose ruffian slaves are ye?

And the winds shall shout, as they rush amain,  
In their pride of strength, We wear no chain!

Ask of the waves whose pearls are wrung  
Forth in earth's farthest clime,  
Where are the fitters that Canute dung  
Upon your march sublime?

And as they sweep on gloriously,  
Thou shalt be answered—We are free!

Question the tempest in its hour  
Of darkness and of gloom:

Questions the thunder's awful power,—  
—The Monarch of the tomb:—

Whose are the chains around you wrought?

And they will answer, Thine are not.

Ask of the jocund birds that wing  
Their flight in every zone,  
O'er tropic bowers where smiles the spring  
In one uncensing blossoming:

Or arctic wastes where winter's form  
Cares not the darkling storm,

And spring is never known:—  
Yea, ask the birds, whose vassals ye?

And the woods shall echo, We are free.

But ask not man if he be free  
From slavery's cankering blight,  
Unnumbered groans shall answer thee

E'en in this age of light:—

Be silent thou, no question him,  
—Creation's suldest wreck.—

His chain is on his brother's limb,  
His foot upon his neck.

Yet hush! whence is that solemn tone  
That thrills the startled ear?

It is a nation's pageant man  
Around some tyrant's bier?

Comes it from Europe's crimsoned coasts,  
Where navies their might are opposing,

Or her blasted plains where Tartar hosts  
With the Moslem are fearfully closing?

Oh no, it comes from our own loved home,  
The land of the pilgrim sires,

Where freedom hath reared her proudest dome,

And kindled her living fires;

Yea, while their beacon glory lies

Like sunbeams o'er her plains,

A nation breaths its deepening sighs,

And clanks her awful chains!

#### Northern Spirit.

#### WHAT THEY WOULD DO IF THEY COULD.

ADDRESSED TO THE FREE LABORERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

“The slaves of the south are better off than the laboring poor of the north.”—So say the silken apologists of slavery, both at the north and the south. What do they mean by it? Why, evidently, that it is right for the aristocracy of the south to hold the laboring people as slaves, because, as they say, a fair comparison between the north and the south has proved that the laboring classes are better off in slavery than in freedom! The slave, they allege, because he has a master to provide for him. These are the very words of some northern editors on the subject, and it becomes the duty of the free laboring people of the north, to understand their full import and bearing.

“Slaves are better off than free laborers!”—These are the premises. “There is, therefore, no sin in holding laborers in slavery against their wills!”—This is the conclusion. A very bold assertion, a very summary process of logic: a very sweeping and comprehensive conclusion! A conclusion that would enslave the free laborers of the north!

Let it carefully be noticed, in the first place, that the statement is not merely a comparison between the colored slaves at the south, and the colored free laborers at the north. No. The statement is usually made to include especially the operatives of our cotton and woollen manufactures, nearly all of whom are white people—male and female—parents and children. The white manufacturers of Birmingham and Leeds in England, as well as those of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, have repeatedly been named by the opponents of emancipation, in this very connexion. The statement is, therefore, NOT THAT COLORED men are worse off in freedom than in slavery, but that WHITE PEOPLE—yes—the free white citizens of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, are WORSE OFF than the COLORED SLAVES of South Carolina and Alabama!

And let it be noticed, carefully, in the second place, that the logic and the conclusion of the anti-emancipation writers and orators, are as broad and unrestricted as their premises. In the very nature of the case it must be so. And nothing to the contrary has been pretended by those who apologize for slavery in this manner. They cannot show that there is any difference between white and colored laborers in this matter. They have not attempted to make any such distinction; and it does not appear that they wish to make any. Their broad position relates to the comparative condition of free and enslaved laborers; and they assert the advantage to be on the side of the enslaved! In all this, there is no reference made to the color of the laborer, any more than to the color of his eyes or his garments, and it would be evidently ridiculous to predicate any thing on such a distinction. Such a distinction is, in fact, excluded by the very persons whose logic we are considering. At least, they make no distinction in favor of the white laborer. For it is the white laborer, according to their account of the matter, who falls beneath the condition of the colored laborer. But as these reasoners are themselves white people, it cannot be supposed that they intended to intimate that the degraded and miserable condition of the free laborers of the north was owing to their white color! No. The plain drift of their argument has nothing to do with color. The comparative advantages or disadvantages of slavery and freedom, to the welfare of the laboring poor, is the only point at issue in the discussion. And this article goes the full length of declaring, that the condition of the free laborer, even though a white man, is more degraded and miserable than that of the negro slave of the south, and, therefore, the southern capitalist commits no sin when he holds the laborer, without his consent, as a slave. The inference irresistibly follows, that it could be NO SIN for the NORTHERN WHITE LABORER to hold the NORTHERN WHITE LABORER, without his consent, as A SLAVE!

Resolved, That Mr. Alvord be requested to withdraw his presence from the room immediately, and from our village as soon as possible.

On motion of the Hon. Simeon Fuller,

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“What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God of hosts.”—*Isaiah, the Prophet of the Lord.*

Very possibly the southern laborers would form a different estimate of the comparative advantages

of their condition, if allowed to decide the case for themselves. The numerous advertisements for runaway slaves may furnish some hints on this point, as well as the pathetic appeals in respect to the dangers of a servile insurrection. And there is some reason to apprehend that our northern mechanics and manufacturers have not quite arrived at the conclusion, that they would be “better off” in the condition of slavery, since none of them are known to have manifested any solicitude to escape from the “corroding anxieties of life,” by becoming slaves. But the sentiments of the laboring people themselves do not appear to be taken at all into the account, by our American nobility, either at the north or the south. They seem to take it for granted that *their own* estimates of the condition of the laboring people are ample sufficient to decide every question in respect to the condition to be assigned them. And they regard as little the commandments of God, as they do the wishes and cries of the despised poor. “He that steals a man, or if he be found in his hand,” is condemned as a transgressor, by the unchanging moral law. “He that uses his neighbor's service, without wages,” finds an apology in the records of revealed truth. But what is all this to the lordly supervisors of the *American laboring poor*? “They have set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth.” They have examined the matter for themselves! They have duly estimated the comparative condition of the free and the enslaved poor; and whatever their Creator may have said on the subject, they have settled and promulgated their decision, that the laboring poor of America are “better off” in slavery, than they are in a state of freedom! The degradation of the northern *white laborers* beneath the level of the southern *negro slaves*, they pretend, has fully demonstrated this fact, and therefore there is no sin in holding stolen men, and using the laborer's service without wages, notwithstanding the explicit prohibitions of Jehovah!

If the enslaved laborer of the south is “better off” than the free laborer of the north, and if this consideration furnishes any solid excuse for the slaveholder, then the holding of laborers as slaves, by the planters of the south, becomes a *duty* instead of a *saint*!

If the free white laborer of the north is “worse off” than the laboring slave of the south, and if this consideration makes it right and merciful to hold the southern laborer as a slave, then righteousness and mercy not only permit, but require that the white laborer of the north should likewise be held as a slave. This must certainly be the case, unless the white laborers of the north have *less* claims on the kindness of their wealthy countrymen than the colored laborers of the south!

The sum of the matter is, then, this:—He who holds the laborer as a slave at the south, would hold the laborer as a slave at the north, if he could. They who hold colored laborers as slaves, would as readily hold white laborers as slaves. This has been done in Europe, and would be done in America if the aristocracy had the power. And that power they will unquestionably have, if their only effective opponents, the immediate abolitionists, can be “put down.” The equality and inalienable rights of all men must be *practically* maintained, or there is no security for inalienable rights.

Let the free laborers of the north, irrespective of color, consider and understand this matter. The great and only question is—whether the *laboring classes shall be free*? The circumstance of color (!) has nothing to do with the question, any more than stature, or phrenological conformation of skull. The supporters of emancipation so understand the matter; they argue the question without the least reference to such circumstances; their arguments are as forcible in favor of white slavery as black; they go for the principle that *laborers*, without respect to color, are “better off” (!) in slavery than in freedom! They even quote the condition of the free WHITE operatives in our northern manufacturers to prove this position! Incredible insolence! Who would have believed, a few years since, that an aristocracy like this could have arisen up in America, powerful enough to control the public press, and forbid free discussion? The opposition to slavery has detected and drawn it out. And now is the time, if ever, to grapple with and overcome it.

“Free laborers ‘worse off’ than slaves!”—Who believes it? Mechanics and